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ALBERTA LABOR ANNUAL

23rd Consecutive Issue

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EDMONTON, ALBERTA
September, 7, 1942



LABOR DAY EDITION OF THE PEOPLE'S WEEKLY



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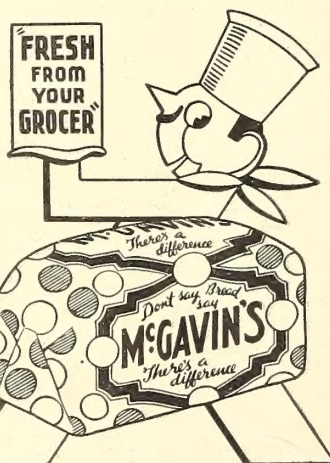
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Alberta Labor Annual

LABOR DAY EDITION

THE PEOPLE'S WEEKLY

A NATIONAL PROGRESSIVE NEWSPAPES

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WILLIAM IRVINE, Associate Editor

LABOR DAY, 1942

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

VOL. XXIII, No. 1

Labor IN THE CRISIS . . .

AS NEVER before in the history of Canada, the role of Organized Labor in the national economy is vitally important to the very existence of the nation. We are entering upon the fourth year of a world struggle the outcome of which depends on the patriotism, the hard work and skill of the workers of this and the other United Nations. Labor will win the war if it is won.

If there is some bitterness in the hearts and minds of Canadian Organized Labor at this stage in the conflict is it not because the workers have been asked to work too hard, not because they have been given too much of the responsibility of fighting, not because they have had too much of the burden placed upon them. The anger of Labor as expressed by the convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is the anger that comes when high motives are thwarted and legitimate desires crushed.

From the beginning of the war Organized Labor in Canada through its two national central bodies has not only agreed to take a full responsibility in the conduct of the war, but has asked that it be given the place in the national councils which its importance in the crisis demands. Although in Britain and Australia and New Zealand Labor has been taken into partnership with other sections of the population in the conduct of the war, and although in the United States no important move in the industrial field is made without full consultation with the Labor movement, after three years of war Labor in Canada is ignored. Important decisions affecting the workers of the nation are made by the government on the advice of such persons as the public relations officers of the great Canadian corporations or promoters of "morale" who promote their own interests most of all.

It is a wonderful tribute to Canadian Organized Labor to say that in spite of the way it has been ignored, in spite of the manner in which the principles of the right to organize and collective bargaining have been hampered and interfered with by the agencies of government, as well as by industrial bourbons who behind a screen of patriotism would impose a policy of forced labor for their own profit, Labor has put its whole force into the war effort.

But Organized Labor in Canada is far from satisfied either with the way it has been treated or by the manner in which war production has been carried on. The waste and inefficiency engendered by the cost-plus system of private operation of war industries has caused bitterness and discouragement in the hearts of men who see their own and their fellows' best efforts impeded by the intrusion of the profit motive in every feature of the conduct of the war. It is this condition that influenced the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to pass its resolution demanding the nationalization of all war industries.

Organized Labor in Canada will continue to fight against those tendencies in Canadian industry which are away from the democratic ideals for which the Canadian workers are prepared to fight and work. Labor will continue to demand the right to express its desires through organization and to bargain collectively for wages and working conditions which are commensurate with a decent standard of living.

Most of all will Canadian Organized Labor continue its demand that the resources of this nation be completely mobilized to make Canada's part in the conduct of the war as effective as it can be made. The Labor movement of Canada recognizes the present struggle as a fight to preserve every opportunity for human progress. To lose the war is to lose everything for which Labor has fought since the days of the Tolpuddle Martyrs. Labor in Canada is ready for any and every sacrifice and only demands that there may be a greater measure of equality of sacrifice than there has been thus far.

Canadian Organized Labor is concerned too about what will follow the war. It will not tolerate a return to the condition of 1929 to 1939. The war itself has proven that there is no need for unemployment and poverty in Canada. For the great social purpose of winning the war the organization of Canadian resources, even imperfectly as they have been organized, has provided an opportunity for every Canadian to make his contribution to national wealth production and to receive in return a living wage. In the social purpose of rebuilding the nation a similar opportunity must be provided.

After Three Years

Written for the Alberta Labor Annual by THE RIGHT HON. ERNEST BEVIN, M.P., Minister of Labor and National Service.

BY the time this is read in your Annual, we shall have practically completed the third year of war, and the end is not yet. Some people ask: "Why did it ever begin?" The answer is that those who love freedom failed to unite; they were not alive to the danger that was growing in their midst and waiting to destroy them.

Sometimes we are asked why it has taken so long to overcome the aggressor. Looking back over the three years of war in Europe and the five years of war in the East the reason is plain. The aggressor proceeded to deal with his victims one by one, intending to space out his attacks over many years. In that design, happily, he has failed, but none the less the power to decide strategy was his.

China held Japan for a very long time; the British Commonwealth kept the enemy off for a whole year; Russia has received the most formidable of his blows during the last year and is still holding out with a mighty courage and resolution.

The Western Hemisphere's great opportunity has now come and it is well to know what has happened under the din of battle.

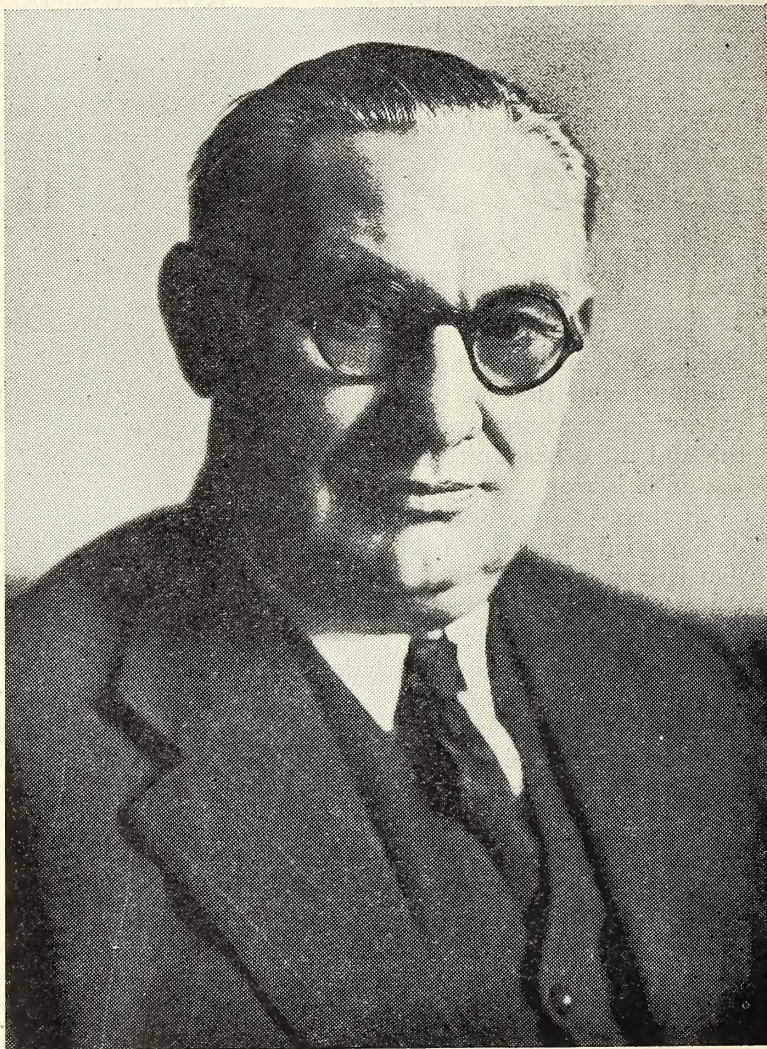
As the aggressor struck his blows, so the forces of freedom became welded together. The United Nations have forged the machine of operation, and our strategy is being developed: The fuel to drive the machines in the shape of munitions and forces is being supplied; the transportation organization to deliver these forces where they can get to grips with the enemy is developing with rapidity.

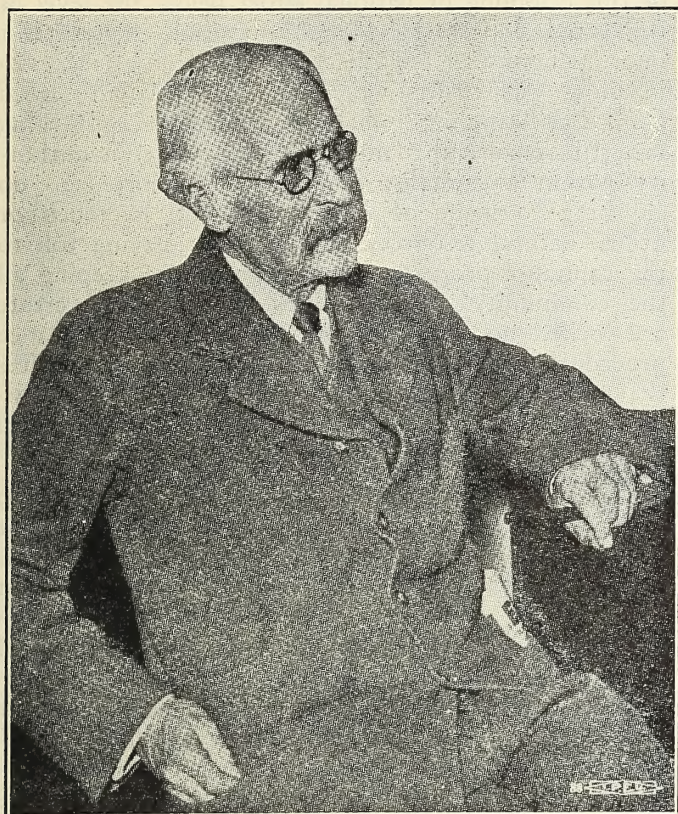
The great clash between the forces of liberty and aggression must come. As we stand on the threshold of the fourth year of war we can see how the advantages of the enemy are rapidly dwindling. He can no longer attack us one by one. Our forces are arriving at the rallying point for the greatest conflict that the world has ever seen.

It is the United Nations that are now moving into position to determine the strategy of the war; it is their equipment that is becoming predominant and it is their united will, acting in cohesion, which will finally bring victory.

This is not the time to cavil or blame each other for every incident that has occurred in the struggle to build these forces up. It is rather the moment to feel relief that so many obstacles have been overcome, to feel invigorated at the unity of the power and forces now being directed against the enemy.

Now is the time, in the days immediately ahead, to make the supreme effort to bring final peace to the world. In that, the working classes of the world will play their part and not the least of these will be you in Canada.





The Old Order is PASSING

Written for The Alberta Labor Annual by FRED HENDERSON, Author of The Case for Socialism, Economic Consequences of Power Production, Money Power, etc.

From the ruins and rubble of a bombed English city of which he has been Lord Mayor, comes this stirring message from the Grand Old Man of Anglo-Saxon Socialism. His is a prophet's voice, the prophet of a new social order to the propagation of which he has given a full, rich beautiful life. More than any other man writing in the English language has Fred Henderson combined in his great books the scientific exposition of Socialism with the expression of a moving passion for social righteousness. Those who had the privilege of meeting with Mr. Henderson when he was in Canada some years ago will be delighted to learn that although the city of Norwich has been among the hardest hit of English cities, he has escaped injury and is immersed as he has always been in public service.

I APPRECIATE deeply the remembrances and good wishes which many of my Canadian friends have sent me on hearing the broadcast news of the repeated mass aerial attacks on Norwich. I am fortunately able to assure them that in my own home circle we have so far escaped any serious personal injury. But the city has suffered greatly. There has been, as announced a heavy death-roll and a widespread devastation of the homes of the people. My own home, while escaping any direct hit, has, like others, been knocked about by concussion and blast—windows and doors blown out and ceilings shaken down—but still stands structurally habitable once the litter and rubble have been cleared up. Few of us have escaped these discomforts, but they are very slight compared with the sufferings of the people who have had to be extricated from the debris of homes that have been completely destroyed, lucky to have escaped alive from the wreckage of all their household possessions.

It is not, however, with the detail of the discomforts of life in a heavily bombed city that I am concerned in this message which the Editor has asked me to send to the readers of the "People's Weekly". I just cannot find words to express my pride in the splendid spirit of good neighborliness and mutual helpfulness with which everybody is taking it. And it is to that new spirit and to what it may mean for the future of our citizenship that I ask you to look for the real significance of these experiences through which the people of England are passing.

Under the strain of these conditions a new communal mentality of sharing our troubles and our resources is quite visibly shaping itself against the old unneighborly class isolations. I have been privileged

to see this process of change at very close quarters, and with a good deal of responsibility on my shoulders in the organization and administration of the new ways of living together into which war-time conditions are carrying us. My fellow citizens did me the high honor of calling me to the headship of the city as Lord Mayor in the first year of the war; and I saw in very close intimacy, and from within, the old routine things of our peace-time administration being steadily superseded by new emergency services and duties in regard to which the provision made has had to be increasingly communal in character.

It would be impossible within the limits of this brief message to give you any real account of the many and varied services which have had to be set going. In any case, it is their general character rather than their detail which it is important to note. What is manifest about them is that they represent a real mass movement in our national life away from private to social motives of conduct. We are being transformed from a nation without any large corporative expression of its life in common purposes—a nation whose overruling peace-time concern was to keep the ring for private interests while they competed with one another for the best positions in their constant war of exploitation against workers and consumers—into a nation with a sense of citizenship and mutual aid paramount over everything else. The habit of class isolation and of competitive scrambling for private gain is disappearing from our lives; giving place to a war-time order of things based on rationing and a fair sharing out of such resources as are available.

That is not to say that the scramble and grab economics of capitalism is no longer evident. It is

still very much in evidence. But it is ceasing to be regarded as anything but a nuisance; and in many of its manifestations has come to be regarded as disgraceful; as conduct unworthy of a good citizen. The national mental attitude towards it is being revolutionized.

It is for our Socialist movement, in Canada as in Great Britain, to give definite form and direction to this growing new sense of social obligations. Every day's experience, for those of us who share in any degree the responsibility for the conduct of British war-time life, confirms to the full the Socialist diagnosis of what is wrong with the world. And it is our imperative business now to press home upon this awakening conscience of the people the truth that all these aspirations for a new decent neighborly life of mutual helpfulness amongst men will be thwarted and lead to nothing so long as the natural resources of the world and the community's opportunities to live and work remain in private ownership and continue to be worked and administered for private profit. Our message to the world in peace time was that the poverty and insecurity of the working masses of the people was basic in a social structure which rested upon class ownership and control of the community's producing resources and means of living; and that the only escape from these irrational deprivations in a world of plenty is into a new social order in which our natural resources and producing powers shall be socially owned, and used for the planned benefit of of all the people. And now every day's war emergency experience is revealing, with an emphasis beyond dispute, that what was true under normal capitalist peace-time conditions, is even more tragically true of the inability of capitalist mentality to see us through the strains and confusions of a world war.

Day by day throughout these critical years, as things have been shaping to an increasing degree of efficiency for communal purposes, our unvariable experience has been that the difficulties which have hampered and obstructed us have been difficulties created by the conflict between the old capitalist mentality and our new national needs. Wherever there has been a tangle that cross-purpose has been responsible for it. In every direction the ideas, implications, institutions, interests and ways of doing things, the whole system of life for which capitalism stands, constantly come in to impede and complicate the business of organizing the national activities for social ends and national purposes. When the obviously simple, necessary, and effective thing to be done has been to clear some obstructive lumber of private interests out of the road, our government have found themselves instinctively taking for granted its right to be there, and devising all sorts of complicated ways round it, to our manifest inconvenience and loss in national efficiency; so alien has it been to the governing mentality to think simply in terms of national life and its needs, so habituated is it to the claim of private interests to put their barricade across the national highway.

There lies our gravest danger. If civilization should go down in this struggle, it would be because

of this crippling of national effort below the level of the people's powers by the imposition of capitalist interests upon us. For the central governing fact, even in those war efforts which we have partially freed from this crippling influence, the central governing fact still remains that no government or civic authority within a capitalist economy is permitted to do anything to make or create anything, to touch or utilize natural resources, without first paying toll to the capitalist property interests in whose keeping all the community's opportunities to make and create are locked up. We have to work under its finance procedure, by whose accountancy of costs and prices that universal toll is imposed upon and rigorously collected from every human activity and every social endeavour.

I do not think human civilization will go down in this struggle. And the greatest basis for that hope is in the fact of the growing new social-mindedness of the world's people away from the private interest mentality of capitalism. The people are setting up new valuations of life and a new appraisalment of conduct; and by that appraisalment the accepted capitalist morality—that a man should get his private hoard together and pursue his private interests regardless of national needs or social consequences—stands discredited, naked, conscious of its own shame and meanness, its almost infinite capacity for betraying, muddling, thwarting, and turning to baseness and dishonour the life any people so foolish as to order their conduct by it.

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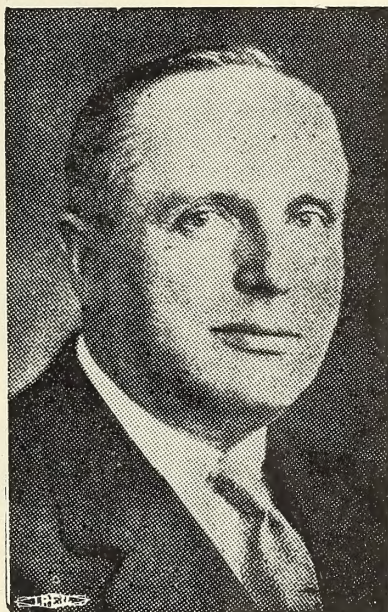
Written for the Alberta Labor Annual by J. A. D'AOUST, Secretary Treasurer, Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

LABOR DAY, which has become Labor's most important holiday on this continent, had its inception in the Central Labor Council of the City of New York in 1882. It was decided then to celebrate the first Monday in September as a holiday for Labor. The idea must have had considerable merit as it soon spread and in the years that followed its adoption became general.

It is questionable if Labor was ever confronted with more serious problems during the past sixty years of Labor Days than it is at this one in 1942. We have seen labor movements that took the untiring efforts and sacrifice of working men and women years to build, destroyed by totalitarian governments in less days than was spent in years of building. Cities such as Berlin and Vienna, recognized for years as centres of learning, changed to the headquarters of savagery, and cities of mirth, such as gay Paris, converted to citadels of misery. All these cities had their Trades and Labor Councils made up of workers with the same hopes and aspirations for a better life for themselves and families as we have, and without doubt they all believed that such things as have happened were impossible.

What we in Canada have to decide is: Are we going to just jog along in a "fool's paradise" saying to ourselves that "it cannot happen here", or are we going to profit by the horrible experiences of our fellow trade unionists in other lands and work and fight to see that it does not happen here. Wishful thinking will never win this war. Modern methods of destroying human beings do not permit it. There is only one way that the war machines of Nazism and Fascism can possibly be defeated and that is by bigger and better machines, and the workers in this country and our fellow workers in the countries allied with us are the only ones who can build and operate them. This is by far the most important job we have to do—compared with it all other grievances become slight irritations to be speedily forgotten. We must expect and should readily make sacrifices, if necessary, to accomplish the tremendous amount of work that has to be done. But while we are doing these things we must do them as free men and women. The workers of Canada, fully realizing their responsibilities, will fight and work far better in this fight for freedom, if they remain free themselves. The

workers of Canada, believing in democracy, will fight and work to their utmost to protect it, and must not subscribe to or allow the continuation of a line of Government thought that can only lead to the elimination of our democratic ways of life and institutions.



TOM MOORE, President,
Trades and Labor Congress of Canada

We can defeat Hitlerism without adopting his labor policies. We want to be assured that some who are advising our Government at the present time do not fall within the category of Walter Winchell's, "people we can do without." We must insist on labor representation on all boards both administrative and advisory. Labor must be recognized as a full partner in this war effort and we must see that we get these things, so that we can go forward in an all-out production war effort, fighting and working for the freedom we cherish as a free people must.

We must not allow ourselves to be jockeyed into a position where we have won a war for freedom and lost our own in the process. We have to be big enough to realize that in times of war discipline is an essential, and be big enough to discipline ourselves as occasion demands. And that even though incidents may arise in different parts of the country as a result of little jittery men being placed in authority who can only think in Big Stick Terms, Labor while expressing its resentment to such mismanagement and bungling must always recognize that the wheels must keep turning. Strikes and stoppages must not take place during this war, the situation is too desperate. A strike during this period is a strike against ourselves, against our fellow trade unionists in other lands, and it gives more excuses for more Orders in Council from those just waiting the opportunity to "run off another batch". As workers we have to dig in and do the work. We cannot delegate our brains and muscle to another fellow at a dollar-a-year.

While the book-trained advisors of the Government may be frisking their advice from Germany's wartime labor policy and apparently have for a slogan "More-Orders-in-Council"—let the workers' slogan for Labor Day 1942 be an all-out production of the things that count—ships, tanks, guns, munitions and supplies.

Chinese co-operatives are producing each year about \$12,000,000 worth of blankets, drugs, rifles, bullets, hand grenades, uniforms, surgical gauze, soap, candles, and other goods.

British Trade Unionism and the WAR

Written for the Alberta Labor Annual by the RT. HON. SIR WALTER CITRINE, K.B.E., General Secretary, British Trades Union Congress

WE are living through a crucial phase of the war. All appearances seem to indicate that Hitler has set himself to force a military decision in Russia within the next few weeks, while behind the smoke screen of the vast battle front he is engaged in political activities tending towards the same end—the triumph of the evil forces of which he is the symbol and the leader.

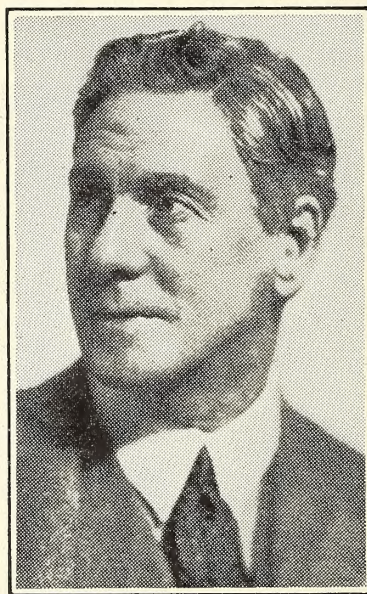
We in Britain face urgent decisions. In the Middle East our armies are stoutly resisting all the attempts of a skillful and pertinacious foe to secure the glittering prizes which earlier successes had seemed to promise him. By sea the Navy and mercantile marine are facing the menace of aerial and submarine attack on a dangerous and unprecedented scale. Our seamen have the prodigious task of replenishing these Islands with every kind of essential war stores, and at the same time maintaining an endless convoy of arms and equipment to our forces in the Middle East and to our Russian allies, now contending with an onslaught in which the Nazis are exerting the full force and fury of their arms.

It is inevitable that the country should be faced with the immediate prospect of an even more extensive enrolment of its man power for service with the armed forces, and a corresponding call for recruits, both men and women, for wartime industry. Production, as our reverses in Libya proved, is the keyword to strategy in modern warfare. Both in quality and quantity we must have arms able to counter and defeat anything that comes into the field against us.

To me the task of the Trade Union Movement in this great emergency seems clear. We have to see that industry is geared up to 100 per cent productivity; that the fullest use is made of zeal, skill and energy of the workers; that nobody takes advantage of the crisis to filch from them their basic rights, or to exploit those sacrifices which they have made in no stinting spirit.

From the beginning we have asserted, with success, our right to be consulted as to the fundamental changes in the conduct of industry necessitated by the war. The Movement now has an effective voice in the direction of affairs in practically every department of the industrial and economic life of the country. The allocation of supplies of wartime material, the distribution of food, clothing and other essentials, are all matters on which Government departments are careful to consult us through the various Committees which have been set up.

By far the most important of the measures taken by the Government to increase the output of munitions of war was the setting up, some months ago, of



Rt. Hon. Sir Walter Citrine

a Ministry of Production, a step which I, for one, had for long advocated as the most effective means of co-ordinating production. The first Minister of Production was Lord Beaverbrook (a Canadian, it may be noted in passing). Almost his first step was to set up a Committee to go into the whole question of the machinery of munitions production; and at his request I became Chairman of this Committee.

Mr. Oliver Lyttleton, who very shortly superseded Lord Beaverbrook, asked the Committee to carry on, and we certainly lost no time in examining the situation and making our recommendations.

I shall have to deal briefly with the conclusions which have quite recently been accepted in full by the Minister. We urged the need for efficient regional organization, recommending the setting up of Regional Boards with extensive powers in the allocation of supplies and the placing of contracts. We proposed the merging of machine tool organization with the regions. We recommended frequent meetings of the Regional Boards and their Executives, with the proviso that an Executive should consist of the Chairman (a representative of the Minister of Production), two industrial Vice-Chairmen (one from each side of industry), representatives of the three Supply Ministries, and the Regional Controller of the Ministry of Labor.

The Committee also proposed the subdivision of Regions into Districts. Each District would have a District Office of the Minister of Production, with an Advisory Council of trade unionists and employers. The task of these District Offices would be to see that work was evenly distributed, so that time, labor and material should not be lost in allocating jobs to firms already overloaded with orders.

The establishment of the Ministry of Production brought to an unlamented end the Production Exec-

utive of the Cabinet, and at the same time, consequentially, terminated the existence of the Central Joint Advisory Committee then existing. In its place was set up a new Advisory Committee composed of six representatives of the Trades Union Congress, three each of the Federation of British Industries and the British Employers' Confederation, and eleven Vice-Chairmen of Regional Boards.

The new machinery set up in connection with the Ministry of Production is now functioning actively, and without giving away any secrets I may say that the production graph is rising steadily.

Apart from the work we are doing in conjunction with Government Departments, we have taken steps to strengthen the machinery of the Trade Union Movement so as to ensure that its representations shall carry full weight. We sponsored a conference of engineering unions (as representing the key workers in the munitions industry) from which emanated proposals for the establishment of Works Production Committees, to work through Joint Trade Union District Production Committees for the more efficient conduct of wartime industry. One useful result of such a scheme will be the short-circuiting of the old-time formalities which have hitherto made inter-union negotiations, in this sphere of industry, a rather cumbersome matter.

It was suggested to the Minister of Labor that these Joint Works Production Committees which provide, among other things, for speedy consideration of progressive ideas, should be compulsory in all works coming under the Essential Work (General Provisions) Order. On this point, however, we are holding our horses until we see what comes out of a promising voluntary agreement entered into by the engineering unions and the employers. This agreement establishes Joint Production Consultative and Advisory Committees in engineering establishments, and gives the trade unions scope to put forward proposals for technical and organizational improvements in the running of such establishments.

One of the oldest of our wartime co-ordinating bodies is the Joint Consultative Committee to the Minister of Labor. The terms of reference of this Committee are wide, and enable us to maintain so close a watch on developments that every problem affecting the individual worker, man or woman, as a result of his or her wartime employment is certain of receiving the fullest consideration.

I should say something about the work we have done in advising and assisting the Ministry of Food in matters of allocation and distribution. Here the knowledge and practical experience of our affiliated Unions has proved invaluable. It has enabled us to make precise recommendations with regard to the allocation of special rations for people engaged in particularly heavy work, and all through the piece needs of every section of workers, in regard to food and clothing have been promptly and adequately met. We have been able, moreover, by careful study of the industrial time chart, to alleviate to a very great extent many of the incon-

veniences of the situation; but for these efforts shopping would have become almost an impossibility to thousands of women workers.

The task of the T.U.C. and of the affiliated Unions must in the course of things grow heavier with every day of the war. But the encouragement we find in the zeal and loyalty of our members, whose numbers are increasing steadily with the growing appreciation of the value of trade unionism, is in itself a guarantee that our labors are not wasted.

It is in the faith and courage of the masses of the people that our best hopes of victory must reside. Dark and difficult as the times are, I am confident that the resolution of our people to see this thing through to a triumphant finish will never falter. The magnificent efforts they have already made are the fruits of a spirit against which the fiercest assaults of the enemy can never prevail.



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Policy for Victory

Written for the Alberta Labor Annual by M. J. COLDWELL, M.P., National Leader of the C.C.F.

THE C.C.F. once again offers its best wishes to the Alberta Labor Movement for the coming year. Let us hope that it will be crowned with victory and peace. The impact of war has brought the realization that labor is a fundamental arm in modern war. So far our democratic countries have met with serious reverses and in almost every instance these can be traced to the lack of sufficient mechanical equipment.

Too long our people have been led to believe that men in uniform were almost the sole requirements of modern war. Thus it is that we have heard continuous demands for the conscription of men for the armed forces and little attention given to the equally necessary compulsory mobilization of industry for the common cause.

China has cried aloud for planes, tanks and guns, with which to equip her almost countless millions who desire to overthrow the Japanese aggressor. The Russian armies are in retreat because they too lack sufficient equipment to meet the needs of modern war. Cries go up for a Second Front. Millions of men stand ready to invade the continent of Europe, but their progress is delayed because they too have lacked the ships and material to make their efforts the success it needs must be. Thus labor is a fundamental factor in this total war.

What is true of industrial labor is also true of toil on our farms. It is possible that before long some of our food stuffs may be rationed in order that we may send more across the seas, or because labor on the farms has been depleted by the demands of industry and the armed forces.

Yet, production must be maintained. This surely means that we should have a plan for total and effective mobilization to win the war. A long struggle means, too, that the nations which can maintain the highest morale will be likely to succeed best. Letters which come to my desk almost daily, inquire anxiously regarding plans for the futures of the boys who are now overseas or are engaged in industry.

The C.C.F. believes that plans for the winning of the war and the building of a better future are thus inseparable. Our people have a right to know something of the future for which they fight. A short time ago, the Honorable Walter Nash of New Zealand, visited Ottawa. He spoke to members of Parliament at

a luncheon and later that day appeared before the parliamentary committee on reconstruction. At both functions he emphasized the fact that the war effort of New Zealand was "total" because the people knew the things for which they fought. He said:

"The policy of the New Zealand Government—a Labor Government—in its defence arrangements and in its fighting arrangements is that we are not only prepared to talk but we are prepared to fight with all that we have both for and against—for the democracies and the freedom which we think is the rightful inheritance of **everyone**, and against those who want to destroy that freedom."

Mr. Nash emphasized three things that he said were closely related:

"(1) That no man who goes away from this country to fight ought to be worse off because he goes away to fight. The same applies to women—no woman who goes away to serve ought to be worse off because she goes away to serve;

"(2) That nobody ought to be better off because they stayed at home, and

"(3) No one in the present world situation should at any time expect to profit from the supply of the essential things associated with war."

Mr. Nash then went on to outline what his country had done to improve the social services since the war began. He emphasized again and again that the Labor Government of New Zealand believed that during the war they must demonstrate to the people that they are indeed determined to build a newer and better society when the conflict ends.

It is just such an assurance that the people of Canada lack. We know that we must win this war if we are to make democratic progress, and therefore our people sacrifice and fight, but there is growing discontent because the fingers of monopolistic enterprise are grasping more firmly the industrial and economic resources of this land. Labor, therefore, must join heartily in the battle for human right—both in our own country and wherever that right is threatened.

In the past few weeks there has been a new awakening in the ranks of labor in the East. Unions affiliated with both the A.F. of L. and the Canadian Congress of Labor enthusiastically and with but one dissenting vote, decided to affiliate, or, where the Constitutions forbade



it, to co-operate with the C.C.F. They recognize that in our Movement the voice of labor could be heard.

The work of our group in Parliament has demonstrated to the worker and the farmer that they can work together for the common good. Alberta contains both of these great productive forces. May we hope that in the coming year the farmers of Alberta and workers in Alberta mines and industries will unite with us to ensure the building of a better Canada in the years to come.

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LABOR DAY MESSAGE

FOR OVER forty years the organized Labor movement in Canada has been given official and public recognition by the observance of Labor Day. The last holiday of the summer, it is doubly appreciated in ordinary circumstances, but this year many workers will not observe it as a holiday. They will work at their usual occupations, in mine or factory, contributing this day which is especially their own, to the war-effort. Whether Labor Day is observed by working or otherwise, however, it is rather remarkable that even one day in the year is dedicated to organized Labor in Canada.

This is the case for two reasons. In the first place, the Canadian government designated Labor Day a holiday by official statute, but it has so far failed to protect by law the right of workers to bargain collectively with employers. In the second place, the principles upon which the Labor movement is based and the purpose for which it has been established, are not widely understood. Labor Day has become a national institution, even though many people are unaware of its meaning, and it provides at least an opportunity for the organized workers to make their aims and aspirations known.

The principle of organization is the same, irrespective of the nature of the group involved, it is adopted for the purpose of protecting or promoting common interests by means of co-operation. Employers organize in a manufacturers' or bankers' association; workers organize in a union; there is nothing necessarily sinister about either. But if an employer closes down his plant, this is not usually regarded by the public as an anti-social act; when the workers in a plant voluntarily stop work as a group, however, that is called a strike, and is considered quite reprehensible, even in peace-time. Such action is taken only as a last resort, in the face of what is felt by the workers to be unfair treatment in the matter of wages and working conditions.

The primary concern of the people of Canada at the present time is the war-effort; there is a general impression that it is not as ef-

By A. R. Mosher

President, Canadian Congress
of Labor



fective as it should be, and that impression is shared by the organized workers. Apart from any other factors in the situation, the lack of organization among large groups of workers in various industries is undoubtedly detrimental to maximum production, for the workers will work better under conditions which they have helped to determine through their union representatives than if those conditions are determined solely by the employer. Organization provides machinery whereby expression may be given to the desires of the workers, and industrial harmony is obtained through mutual consideration of each other's viewpoint. Organization improves the morale, increases self-respect, and promotes discipline.

In every industrial nation, the organization of the workers has proved to be beneficial to the public as well as to the workers themselves. In Great Britain, Labor unions are recognized as playing a vital part in the war-effort; they are represented in the Government and are consulted regarding every important government policy. In the United States, the right to organize is protected by law, and the

contribution of organized Labor to the war-effort has been commended on many occasions. In Canada, however, the workers are still waiting for the adoption of a satisfactory Labor policy, and for the establishment of industrial councils and Labor-management co-operation plans which have proved so valuable both in Great Britain and the United States.

The chief obstacle to the organization of the unorganized workers is the attitude of their employers. In every instance in which employers have dealt honestly and fairly with their organized workers, accepting the measure of economic democracy which this involves, the welfare of both parties has been enhanced. But many employers throughout Canada have opposed any attempt on the part of their workers to become organized, have dismissed or discriminated against union leaders, have refused to negotiate agreements by collective bargaining, and deal with the union of which their workers were members. Even in government-owned or controlled plants, the same hostile attitude has been shown by managements, indicating a concerted policy of opposition to organized Labor. The organization of the workers has been carried on in spite of this opposition and the unwillingness of the government to penalize it, but it has meant strife and unrest and bitter struggle every step of the way.

Do the people of Canada outside the ranks of the workers realize the damage which such an attitude on the part of employers and such a lack of a proper Labor policy on the part of the government are causing to the war-effort? Do they know that, even where a Board of Conciliation appointed by the Federal government recommends a method of settling an industrial dispute, an employer may calmly disregard that recommendation, and may even refuse to submit his case to a Conciliation Board? This is the sort of treatment which leads to strikes; they would be reduced to a negligible minimum if employers would adopt a co-operative attitude toward organized Labor or were forced by law to do so, but in the absence of

either willingness or compulsion, the workers must fight for their rights with their own unaided strength.

It is not difficult to see what effect the spirit of hostility thus engendered has on the production of war-materials. Even where there is no stoppage of work, and in most instances the unions do their utmost to discourage such stoppage, the discontent which the workers are bound to feel makes their work less productive. They are human beings; they have rights as well as duties; even a machine will work more efficiently if it is well treated, and workers who are treated like slaves will not put their backs into their work in the same way as if they were shown the respect and confidence which they deserve. Unfair treatment, unsettled grievances, low wages, create a feeling of injustice which cannot be re-

moved by threats or abuse.

The way to improve a situation of this kind is to make it possible for workers to become organized without fear of reprisals by their employers. Not only would this bring about a condition which would be much more satisfactory to both parties in industry; it would also greatly promote the war-effort, for Labor unions provide a means of mobilizing energy and directing it toward the attainment of a common objective. The best industrial relationships can be established only where employers and organized workers meet on equal terms, and agree to deal with one another on an amicable basis.

In the national interest, therefore, and for the sake of the utmost war-effort which Canada can put forth, the organization of the workers is of great importance.

Only through organization can the workers contribute fully to the effectiveness of Canada's participation in the war, only through organization can they play their proper role in the period of post-war reconstruction. If the people of Canada were aware of these facts, they would encourage organization, and demand a change of attitude on the part of the government and of employers. As they observe Labor Day this year, it would be extremely helpful if they would think of the condition of the unorganized workers, and resolve to use their influence to improve it by making organization less difficult. It is not lip service nor a public holiday that the workers want; they ask only that their rights be protected. That is surely not too much to ask in a nation which is fighting for freedom and democracy!

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PLANNING for the Betterment of Humanity

Written for the Alberta Labor Annual by C. A. RONNING, M.A., B.Sc., Alberta Provincial Leader of the C.C.F.



IF IT is true that we are now entering upon the most critical phase of this war, and if we have a determined will to win, it follows that we must unhesitatingly make use of every weapon at our disposal. Yet there are powerful forces in our country unwilling to make use of every available weapon to achieve victory.

One of the best weapons we have is democratic planning for the future. The people who believe in freedom and who are

convinced that they are fighting for the betterment of humanity will put forth every effort and make every necessary sacrifice to win.

Some people sincerely, but ignorantly, fear that discussions about the future will distract our efforts from the present task of winning the war. Others are afraid that different plans for the future will cause dissension between differing factions and thus hinder the war effort. And there are a few sophisticated high-brows who sneeringly insist that the notion of a democratic war is merely a passing phase of war propaganda not to be taken seriously by serious thinkers.

Most dangerous are the forces who do not want a discussion of future plans because they oppose any change in the system. They fear the present tendencies. They foresee the inevitable form into which society will develop if these tendencies are unchecked. They hope that there will be a return to unhampered exploitation when the war is over. They fear that planning for the war will lead to planning for the peace. They realize full well that the attention of the people must be diverted from planning for a democratic society. Otherwise the present system is doomed and there will be no return to the pre-1939 days.

These forces see in the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation a menace to the continuance of their

present control. They are employing every means to destroy this movement. Not since its inception in 1932 has the C.C.F. received as much publicity as it has recently. Press attacks upon the C.C.F. and its leaders are becoming more numerous and violent.

During the first period of its development, our movement was ignored as a party supported only by crack-pots, labor agitators, disgruntled farmers and irresponsible radicals. Now that the C.C.F. has become His Majesty's loyal opposition in two provinces, the real opposition in the House of Commons, and threatens to become one of the major political parties of the Dominion, it can no longer be ignored.

During this second period of the growth of the C.C.F., the tactics have been changed. Now it is subjected to frontal attack as well as sabotage. Attempts are made to discredit its leaders and misrepresent its policies. If press attacks upon a movement is any gauge of its importance, there can be no doubt of the growth of the C.C.F.

Though we have had a steady healthy growth since 1932, and though our policies are now being more and more widely received, we are not yet well enough organized to be a serious threat to the present system. We are not yet strong enough to offer the alternative for which people are seeking.

The present system is sufficiently tenacious to survive even the crisis of the war unless the socialist movement becomes strong enough during the course of the war to confront the public with a practicable alternative to the continuance of capitalism. The war will not change the system unless our movement becomes strong enough to offer the prospect of replacing capitalism by an alternative system.

It is our duty to organize our movement so that we can seriously offer an alternative to the present system and contribute to the war morale by planning for the future.

How can this be done?

Perhaps the most effective instrument is the appeal of democratic planning for the future. There is every indication that the discussion about the future can become the psychological weapon which will swing public opinion into a more enthusiastic will to win. Everywhere there is keen interest in the after-war organization. The United Nations idea is seizing the imagina-

tion of democrats throughout the world and inspiring men not only as a means to achieve a military victory but as an assurance to everyone of a world organization which will be used for the welfare of all people and the security of all nations.

Our citizens may be disappointed in the failure of their leaders to cope adequately with the situation but they have not lost their faith in democratic principles. When the average citizen is confronted with a choice between complete democracy in every phase of our national life and the Nazi system, he does not hesitate to choose democracy. He is not as easily swayed as formerly by the appeal to fear and prejudice. If economic democracy is socialism—what of it? Have not millions of Russians embraced death rather than lose its benefits for the U.S.S.R.

The appeal to the citizens must be positive. They desire to go much further than merely fighting to destroy an evil—great as it may be. The only appeal which will bring out maximum effort is the one which asks every citizen to assist in building a new world, to participate in establishing a society in which there will be equitable distribution of the world's vast resources and in which the present horrors will be impossible.

It is the duty of the C.C.F. to make that appeal. It is the special contribution of the C.C.F. to the war effort to foster the morale that can only come from the hope of such a future world society.

Our opponents can no longer easily set us aside by saying that these are the hopes of impractical idealists. We have the labor, the tools and the resources to build the world which we visualize. Even after the terrific destruction of war there will still be raw materials, there will still be machines and there will still be labor. These are the fundamentals of wealth.

What better resolution can be made on Labor Day than to dedicate these fundamentals to the building of a new society for the betterment of humanity.

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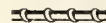
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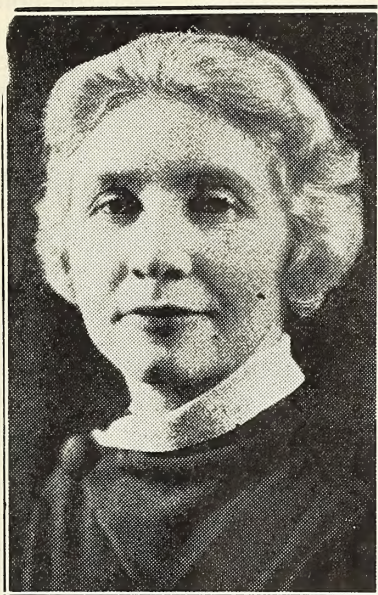
Written for the Alberta Labor Annual by MARY R. CRAWFORD

TODAY, on the eve of the fourth year of war a considerable number of people seem to be torn by conflicting emotions and depressed by a sense of futility. Particularly is this true of the women who worked unstintingly for years in the cause of peace and of the young people who received their education during the past two decades. There is a serious danger that the defeats we have met in the past in the endeavor to maintain peace, and the disillusionment regarding a second great war within twenty years, may tend so to discourage us that we may lack the verve, the driving force to tackle the situation which now confronts us. For this reason I shall try to analyze the confusions in our thinking, state where and why we failed in the past and indicate what we may hope to achieve for the future by taking a reasonable course now. For we know now that peace cannot come out of the blue. It will grow only if the seed of our hopes is planted in the appropriate soil and nurtured and protected against the elements which would smother it.

It is true that many persons who were not deluded by the victory of 1918 or by the talk of war to end war, did all they could as individuals to prevent another war by building ways of peace. In this connection the late J. S. Woodsworth comes to mind. His principle was that of the International Labor Office which was founded on the idea that there cannot be peace "except it be based on social justice." For twenty years he pled for social justice within Canada. He urged the increase in production appropriate to our scientific progress; and he argued that the goods produced, or their equivalent, should be distributed back over the people, instead of a part being rammed into foreign markets for profit. In other words, he tried to get social justice at home as a basis for social justice in international affairs. It was the only way in 1922. It is still the only way.

There were others too, many of them, who worked in the League of Nations Society, the Women's International League and other peace movements. But, as many will recall, there was division of opinion in these organizations on the question of methods. All members desired peace: of that there is no doubt. But when asked to face the implications of their own desires and to follow the truth wherever it might lead, many shied away immediately they were faced with the contradic-

tion between the private ownership of public property for profit and the struggle to keep the peace. Their excuse was that these organizations must be kept out of politics. The fact is, of course, that nothing is out of politics that has any intimate relation to the economic realities of the social situation in which we find ourselves. Certainly not foreign policy.



That is the main reason why the peace movements failed. The few people in any one of these organizations who were willing to be logical could not carry the whole group with them in the demand that the nation be logical. If these groups had been in a position to speak with one voice, and in no uncertain terms, and through governments, foreign policy would have been an issue in federal elections in this country and it would have been an important item of business in our Canadian parliament. But the electorate was not sufficiently interested to force the issue to that point where they could create an opportunity for themselves to take constructive action. The blame for this indifference rests primarily on the government. For the function of

government in a democracy is to give leadership, to inform the people on the vital issues of the day, and thereby to rouse interest and seek support for policies.

The method of dealing with Canada's international relations during the past twenty years has been designed to keep the people in ignorance. Foreign policy was conducted in secrecy. It was the practice to delay and avoid discussion of what the Department of External Affairs was doing. What commitments it had undertaken. Yet upon these secret decisions the very existence of the nation depended. Foreign policy is just an extension of domestic policy and both are equally the business of the people in a democracy. For no nation can act with sincerity in trying to keep the peace with its neighbors if it has not within itself the foundations of peace. While this failure of ours to come to grips with foreign policy does not justify Hitler's attack on civilization, it does help to account for him as well as for the popular acquiescence of this country in the disastrous policy of appeasement.

There are people who have not forgotten these things. Men and women of middle age today were young in 1914, but old enough to remember. During the twenty year interval between wars they were re-

sponsible citizens. Today they are still young enough not to forget. They remember what was said during the last war about destroying Kaiserism, and today, as the news comes in from India, they have an uneasy feeling that all is not well. They cannot help wondering if this war is really for democracy for all the people on this planet, then why not for India? These are the things which account for the discouragement felt today by that large group who naively believed in 1918 that they had won the war to end war, by those who were trained in that faith, and by those who tried through the League of Nations to find a new basis for international relations and failed.

But while recognizing the cause of this sense of futility, we should not fail to point out that it is a dangerous, defeatist attitude for this time of national peril, dangerous to the unity and morale essential to a great national endeavor. It is imperative that we drive away the fog of confused thinking, shake off the inertia of conflicting emotions, and clear the air that we may perceive the goal before us and tense our muscles for action. For action is the crying need of the hour. We are confronted with a situation. The world is aflame. A great deal of the structure will go down in the conflagration. Many lives will be lost. We have no choice but to throw ourselves into the struggle and rescue the values which are worth preserving.

That is not to say that nothing matters except to defeat Hitler. Almost every day there is someone to urge us to get on with the war, let social reform wait. At the moment it is a popular editorial theme-song with the Edmonton Journal. To thinking people it has a false ring. For the physical violence of the clash of men and machines is only the outward manifestation of the real struggle. We are in the midst of a social revolution. The conflict in ideas which has been smouldering for twenty years has burst out in a struggle over the question whether or not society shall be so organized that all men in all lands shall be free from fear of want and insecurity.

It is of vital importance that we, the people, understand the nature of the struggle. For if we do not we may lose the very things for which we are fighting. That, as I see it, is the task of the C.C.F. movement—to spread information and increase understanding of the basic forces causing the social convulsion in the world today. The people of the C.C.F. are in a position to do this for our policies square with our ideals. I think it is only fair to say that all people of all political groups want a total war effort, the maximum our material and human resources can provide. But it cannot be done under a system of production for profit. The Minister of Munitions has admitted that industrialists are reluctant to enlarge their establishments beyond a certain point, lest when hostilities cease, they be left with idle plant on their hands. The government urges people to curtail buying, yet they permit alluring advertising to induce people to buy non-essential goods, that private corporations may continue to make profit. It doesn't make sense; and it doesn't make a total war effort. Harold Laski, in explaining the British failure in Libya, gives the essence of the situation in these words:

"The Churchill government is seeking to use an obsolete economic and social system, the popular belief in

which has already gone, for ends which transcend its possibilities." If that is true of Britain, it is far more true of Canada. The final condemnation of the system is that it cannot make of the country anything better than a wilderness in time of peace and it cannot defend itself in time of war.

The old line parties are paralyzed by this conflict. They have nothing to say. That is why they do not want discussion of these matters; that is why they do not want elections. And that is precisely why the C.C.F. must go on educating and supporting labor struggles, and must insist on elections to give the people an opportunity to register their opinion at the polls. For these problems have to be solved if Canada is to pull her weight in the second front projected by the United Nations.

We of the C.C.F. must extend the work our members are doing in parliament, to all parts of this Dominion. The question is: How? Understanding comes first. That can be achieved through study and discussion. Then we should try to convince others. Many of us belong to groups, not connected with political parties, which do good social work. We should keep those contacts, share the work and try to persuade our friends, not to accept our ideas, but to join with us in a fearless search for the truth.

I note a tendency today to revive the notion that "women can succeed where men have failed to establish lasting peace". This time, if we wish to avoid a second failure, we must keep clear of that kind of sentimental twaddle. The experience of the past twenty years goes to show that it simply is not true. This is a class conflict not a sex conflict. Men and women, we are in it together and we have got to get out of it together. To that end men and women who hold the same social faith should co-operate in every way possible, each one exerting his effort where it will count for most. Time presses. From all parts of this Dominion there should converge on Ottawa a united demand that the government brush aside all obstacles and give to this country not only a maximum war effort but also a basis for enduring peace.

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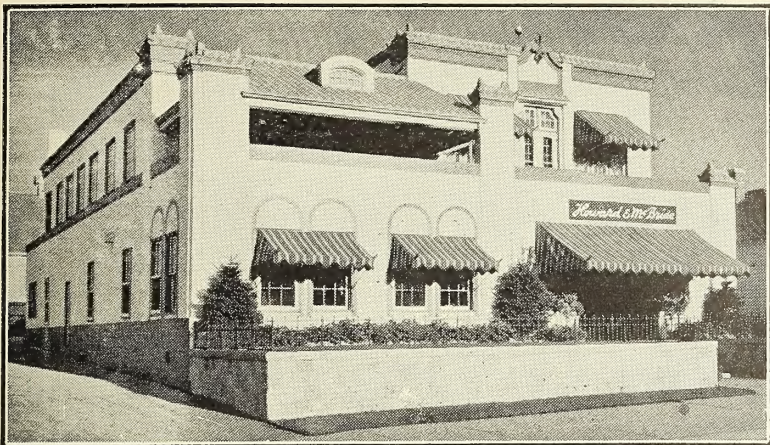
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